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ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—In the House of Commons on Friday, the 28th of February, Mr. Wyld asked Lord Palmerston whether the President of the United States had been asked to permit the right of search to be exercised by British cruisers on the West Coast of Africa, in the case of vessels flying the American flag. Lord Palmerston gave an evasive reply, to the effect that such a right of search as the Honorable Member contemplated could only be exercised under a treaty sanctioned by the Senate.

Meetings on the subject of the African slave-trade were held at Edinburgh on the 3rd, and at Glasgow on the 4th ultimo, particulars of which will be found in another column.

On the 4th ultimo, also, the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society* held their annual meeting, when their yearly report was unanimously adopted. The document has since been printed. It is highly interesting.

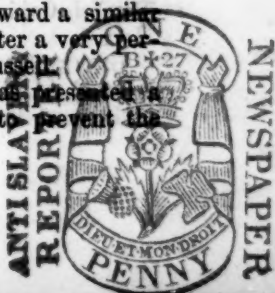
On the 6th, a meeting to promote the objects of the *African-Aid Society* was held at the rooms of the *Liverpool African Association*, which Captain Close, R.N., addressed. A Local Committee was subsequently formed for the purpose of co-operating with the London Society. Captain Close stated the following to be the objects which the *African-Aid Society* is seeking to accomplish, namely: "to encourage the production of cotton, silk, indigo, sugar, palm-oil, &c., by the introduction of skilled labour—African or

European—into those parts of the earth which are inhabited by the African race; to assist, by loans or otherwise, Africans willing to emigrate from Canada and other parts to our West-India colonies, Liberia, Natal, and Africa generally, or to any countries that may offer a suitable field of labour; to form industrial missions, in harmony, where practicable, with the agency already established for the extension of Christianity in Africa; to supply, as occasion may require, suitable mechanical and agricultural implements for the use of the same; to procure samples of every kind of native produce, for the purpose of submitting the same to the mercantile and manufacturing communities of this country, with a view to the promotion of legitimate commerce; and to encourage and assist exploring expeditions into the interior of Africa and Madagascar."

On Friday, the 7th ultimo, Mr. Gregory moved for papers and correspondence relative to the blockade of the Southern ports of the United States by the Federal Government. He was ably answered by Mr. W. E. Forster (the member for Bradford), who literally "crumpled up" his antagonist's bundle of alleged facts, and proved his statement to be only a tissue of exaggerations. Mr. Gregory's motion was negatived without a division.

In the Lords, on the 10th ultimo, Lord Stratheden (who has elected to be called Lord Campbell) brought forward a similar motion, which fell through, after a very pertinent rejoinder from Earl Russell.

The Duke of Newcastle has presented a Bill to the House of Lords, to prevent the



issue of a writ of *Habeas Corpus* from the courts in this country, to colonies having their own courts. The Bill is in course of passing through Committee.

The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have issued a double-crown placard, representing the interior of a slave-ship, and which is intended to convey an idea of the manner in which the unfortunate victims of the slave-trade are packed in the hold of the vessel conveying them away. They have also published a four-page tract, entitled "The African Slave-trade to Cuba," and are about to issue another, called "A Visit to a Slave-ship," being the narrative of an eye-witness.

The Rev. T. Matthews, of 22 St. Augustine's Parade, Bristol, has just issued a useful tract, entitled "The Mirror of the Anti-Slavery Struggle." It costs only one penny, and contains a mass of facts not generally known.

Her Majesty has created a distinct settlement on the Western Coast of Africa, called "The Settlement of Lagos and its Dependencies," and appointed Henry Stanhope Freeman, Esq., to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

AFRICA.—On the 6th of January ultimo, S. A. Benson was re-inaugurated President of Liberia, for a term of six years. He delivered an excellent address upon the occasion, and the ceremony was celebrated by the customary festivities. The intelligence was brought by a mail which reached England subsequent to our last issue. No newspapers have come to hand in the ordinary way by the mail steamer of the 14th.

FRANCE.—The Emperor, in his address to the Chambers, has emphatically affirmed his intention of observing strict neutrality in the American difficulty.

MADAGASCAR.—The Mauritius papers state that Baron Brossard de Corbigny, captain in the French navy, has been entrusted by the French Government with a mission to the new King of Madagascar, Radama II. Arriving at Réunion towards the end of December, this officer proceeded to Tamatave in the month of January. M. Brossard de Corbigny is said to be the bearer of an autograph letter from the Emperor Napoleon, and of some handsome presents. The frigate *Hermione*, bearing the flag of the commander of the naval station in the Indian Seas, had received orders to proceed to Tamatave to await the return of the French officer just named. It is said that the English frigate *Orestes* left on the 30th January for Tamatave, with despatches from the English Cabinet to the Government of the Hovas.

UNITED STATES.—The intelligence received from the United States, since our last issue, is the most important that has come to hand

since the outbreak of the rebellion. The course of the war has proved favourable to the Federal troops. Almost immediately after the victory at Fort Henry and Mill Spring, the Constitutionals took Fort Donelson and Roanoke Island, and the result of the inland successes have been the retreat of the Confederates from their encampment on the Potomac, and the occupation of them by their opponents. The rebels have thus been compelled to abandon their strong position in the Border States, and to retreat further into the South. Against the victories gained by them in 1861 at Fort Sumter (April 12), Big Bethel (June 10), Bull Run (July 21), Wilson's Creek (Aug. 10th), Lexington (Sept. 20), Bull's Bluff (Oct. 21), and Belmont (Nov. 7), the Unionists may set off the victory in the same year of Philippa (June 2), Booneville (June 17), Brier Forks (July 5), the defeat of Pegram by M'Clellan (July 11), victories at Carrick's Ford (July 18), Hatteras Forts (Aug. 28 and October 5), Ganley Bridge (Sept. 10), Santa Rosa Island (Oct. 8), South Pass (Oct. 11), Fremont's charge (Oct. 25), Romney (Oct. 27), Fredericktown, Mississippi (Oct. 22), Port Royal (Nov. 7), Camp Alleghany, Virginia (Dec. 13) Drain'sville (Dec. 18), and in the present year, the gain of the second battle of Santa Rosa, the rout of Humphrey Marshall's corps, the capture of rebel batteries in South Carolina, the defeat of Zollicoffer at Mill Spring, the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson and 15,000 prisoners, of Eddinton, Elizabeth city, and Roanoke island. The most recent intelligence is to the effect that their successes have been followed up by the defeat of the united forces of General M'Culloch, Van Dorn, and Price at Sugar Creek, Arkansas, by the Federal army of the south-west, under General Halleck; and that Commodore Dupont's naval expedition, which left Port Royal, had, after occupying Brunswick, proceeded to Cumberland Sound, the entrance to the harbour of Fernandina, Florida, and taken possession of Fort Clinch. The entire coast-line of Georgia, from South Carolina to Florida, is thus in possession of the Federal forces. A naval reverse, however, had occurred to the Unionists, on the 8th of March, at the mouth of the James' River. The Confederate iron-cased steam-ram *Merrimac*, and the steamers *Yorktown* and *Jamestown* had attacked and run down the Federal war-steamers *Cumberland* and *Congress*. But in the course of the night the Federal iron-plated steam-ram *Monitor* arrived at Fortress Monroe, and being assailed by the *Merrimac*, the two fought for five hours, when the *Monitor* succeeded in bursting a hole in the side of the *Merrimac*, which then retreated with the Confederate fleet into Norfolk. Two hundred are supposed to have been killed and wounded on board the *Congress* and the *Cumberland*.

A general advance of the Federal army had been ordered, and General Fremont, who had fully met the charges against him, had received an important command.

The Confederates, as they abandon the country they have so long occupied, burn and destroy every thing, leaving desolation in their rear.

The Government had taken military possession of all the telegraphic lines, and forbidden the transmission of intelligence relating to the war, except through the proper military authorities.

The proceedings in Congress have been most important. The Bill providing for the abolition of Slavery within the District of Columbia, introduced by Senator Wilson and referred to the District Committee, had been entrusted to Senator Morrill, who had prepared a Bill which provides for the immediate emancipation of all the slaves in the district, and for a limited compensation to loyal owners, not to exceed 300 dollars per slave on the average. Owners are, within ninety days, to file their claims, together with proofs of value and of loyalty, with Commissioners. These are to report within nine months. They are authorised to examine the slave, as well as the master, in order to determine the latter's right to compensation. The number of slaves now in the district is about 3000. Probably more than half belong to masters who will swear that they are loyal. The total cost of emancipating cannot be over 1,000,000 dollars, and may not be much more than 500,000 dollars.

President Lincoln, however, had submitted, in a special message to Congress, a recommendation for the assisting of States who will abolish Slavery. The measure recommended has been adopted by the House of Representatives, which passed the following resolution by a majority of 88 to 31:

"Resolved—That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of Slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.

As might have been expected, great diversity of opinion exists in relation to the proposition, but on the whole its effect was good.

Captain Gordon, of the slave *Erie*, was executed on the 21st of February, under very shocking circumstances. The activity of the United-States' Court against others implicated in a similar crime has resulted in bringing to trial Samuel B. Haynes, first mate of the *Nightingale*, indicted for the capital offence; Bradley Winslow, second mate of the same vessel, also on the capital charge; Williams H. Byrnes, master of the

bark *W. L. Kibby*, for the capital offence; Morgan Fredericks, first mate of the *Cora*, for the capital offence; Erastus H. Booth, master of the *Buckeye*, for the capital offence; George Garnett, first mate of the same vessel, for the capital offence; Henry C. Crawford, master of the ship *City of Norfolk*, for the capital offence; William Warren, first mate, and David Hall, second mate, of the *Erie*, under command of the late Captain Gordon, are also indicted for the capital offence; Henry Connor, John Williams, and John Morris, part of the crew of the *Triton*, are indicted for the minor offence; Albert Horne, indicted for fitting out the *City of Norfolk* as a slave, and Joseph E. Turner, for fitting out the bark *Cora*.

The Confederate Congress assembled at Richmond on the 18th January. Thirteen States were represented. The Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, was unanimously elected President of the Senate; and Mr. Thomas S. Bocock, of Virginia, was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives, also without opposition. On the following day the electoral votes of the eleven Confederate States which voted for President and Vice-President were formally counted. The total number of electoral votes cast was 109, and they were all given for Jefferson Davis as President, and Alexander H. Stephens as Vice-President.

The inauguration ceremony took place at Richmond on the 22nd ultimo, when the President delivered his address, in which he recapitulates the unfounded allegations against the North, first set forth in the "Declaration of grievances," dwells upon the recent reverses of the South, and exhorts to a firm and uncompromising resistance to the uttermost extremity. A resolution to resist to the last has been adopted in the Confederate Senate.

WEST INDIES.—No news of importance has been received by the last mails, and our files are very imperfect. Only the following have come to hand. From JAMAICA, the *Watchman* and the *Falmouth Post*; from BARBADOS, the *Liberal* and the *West Indian*; from BRITISH GUIANA, the *Creole*, and odd numbers of the *Royal Gazette*; from TRINIDAD, the *Sentinel*; from DOMINICA, the *Dominican*: from ANTIGUA, the *Observer*; from ST. VINCENT, the *Journal*; and from St. CHRISTOPHER's, the *Advertiser*.

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Friday, 28th February.)

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE AND THE AMERICAN SQUADRON.

Mr. WYLD asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether any communication had been made

to the Government of the United States, upon the withdrawal of the American squadron from the coast of Africa; whether any attempt had been made by the British Government, to induce the President of the United States to prevent the use of the United States' flag, by foreign slavers, on the West Coast of Africa; and whether any request had been made to the President of the United States, to permit British ships of war, engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade, to ascertain (during the absence of the United-States' squadron) the nationality of ships which might hoist the flag of the United States.

LORD PALMERSTON said that a representation has been made to the United-States' Government, that the number of guns stipulated by treaty to be employed by them on the coast of Africa, for the suppression of slave-trade, are not now on that station. The answer given was, that the necessities of war and of the blockade which they were establishing on the Southern coast, obliged them to withdraw from foreign stations, part of their cruisers which had been there employed. Undoubtedly this answer, though it could not be altogether contested, was not a very satisfactory one, because it only amounted to this—that the United States fail in executing the engagement of a treaty relating to a subject in which Englishmen take great interest, because the cruisers which ought to be employed there, are employed in establishing a blockade which in itself was very injurious to the interests and commerce of this country. But he believed he was warranted in saying, that the President of the United States is very anxious to co-operate with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade. In what particular way that might be done, it was not at present for him to say; but he felt satisfied of the earnest desire on the part of that people to employ all the means at their disposal to put down the slave-trade; and in proof of that he might mention, what indeed he had stated on a former evening, that an American citizen who was convicted of acts in furtherance of Slavery now lies under sentence of death in New York.

MR. WYLD reminded the noble lord that he had not given any answer to the last branch of his question. At present the whole of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa was carried on under the United-States' flag.

LORD PALMERSTON: My honourable friend must be aware that no permission given merely by the President of the United States can be effectual. Such a right of search as he contemplates can only be exercised under a treaty sanctioned by the Senate.

(Tuesday, 18th March.)

SLAVE-TRADE PAPERS.

In reply to MR. W. FORSTER,

MR. LAYARD said these papers were in the hands of the printers, and he hoped to be able to lay them on the table of the House about the end of next week.

COMPENSATION AND COLONIZATION.

THE following letter from Mr. Pillsbury has been published in the *Anti-Slavery Standard*.

It contains so much that is excellent, and is so thorough, that we deem it useful to reprint it.

"Boston, Jan. 28, 1862.

"The last letter from your Dublin correspondent contains the following—alas! too truly told:

"'A great portion of your present embarrassment appears to result, not only from Southern pride and love of domination, but from the prejudice against colour, and the negro hate with which multitudes of Northern men are saturated.'

"That this great fact should be overlooked by politicians, and even a 'negro-pew'-sustaining church and pulpit, is not strange. But this makes our duty in the premises, as abolitionists, all the more important and imperative. In some of the recent most excellent letters of Mr. Gerritt Smith the subject is well and very forcibly treated; but I do not think so much can be said truly of any other prominent writer or speaker among us, unless it be Dr. Cheever of New York.

"A good deal is said about our 'many sources of hope and encouragement' at the present hour. My view of that matter is, that there is no more alarming feature in the whole strife than that so many leading abolitionists talk about our work being nearly done, and *very well done*; and that we can already begin to see and to sing the salvation of God.

"Prejudice against colour is the very underpinning and foundation of Slavery in this country. And in what direction is this terrible granite yet shaken, in Church or State? '*Compensation to masters and colonization for slaves*' are the most we hear from the Government; perhaps better than we hear from most of the churches. And the abolitionists themselves, in great numbers, seem reconciled to the former doctrine already, and, I fear, will yet become too easy converts to the latter. To me both these proposals are a frightful injustice, springing really from the same source—disregard of the negro's humanity on the part of the best who advocate them, and of absolute hatred to his colour on the part of all the rest.

"A rich 'loyal slaveholder'—rich after his hundred, or hundreds, of slaves are taken from him—rich because they made him so, by unpaid sweat and toil and tears—he must be '*compensated for loss of property*!' But alas for his slaves! They go forth a battalion of beggars, to be still the scoff and scorn of mankind! fugitive and vagabond in a land that has been made powerful and wealthy by their unpaid, unpitied labour, and the price of their children, sold in the shambles with the calves of the stall!

"Has a nation in such a state of mind and heart any 'ground for hope or encouragement'? Is God also unjust? When we are fit for, or capable of salvation, our whole energy and being will be absorbed in the question, How can we, as a nation, a Government, a Church, a Pulpit, atone to the slaves and to their race for the nameless, numberless woes inflicted on them through successive generations?

"Once a Divine Man dined at a lordly table, whose proprietor, in recognition of the quality of his guest, said to him, 'The half of my goods I

give to feed the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man unjustly, I restore him four-fold." Well might the response go forth, as from hallowed lips, "To-day is salvation come to this house." And if this be an epitome of the pure Gospel, what hope is there for us?—for us, who, as a nation, not only have no desire or design of even a one-fold justice to our long-robed victims, but who still hate them for causes over which they have even less control than we ourselves?

"Long ages ago it was said, 'Whom we injure we hate the most.' Never before in civilization was mortal so hated as the American slave. Most emphatically is he the least of the brethren of Him who died at Calvary. As a race, we in this nation hate the slaves, because we have injured them. We hate the slave because he is a slave, when it was ourselves who made him so. We hate him for the skin in which his Creator clothed him. We hate him for his crisped hair. We hate him for the form of his features and limbs. We hate him for the fancied ill odour of his body. We hate him for his whole condition, when we ourselves have crushed him down into it. We hate him that he is ignorant, when we have made him so. We hate him that is debased and degraded, while we keep him so.

"Under our laws the black man has no rights which the white man is bound to respect. In our social code the decision is much the same. The church conforms, and still keeps the 'negro-pew;' she sets the negro sacramental table. Into the graveyard, too, she carries the odious distinction, and why not (had she the power) into the kingdom of heaven? 'No man cared for my soul,' mourned the ancient minstrel. 'No man cares for mine,' echoes the despairing slave!

"Who, in such a condition of heart as this, in both State and Church, is authorized to say, 'This day is salvation come (or coming) to this house.' He who said also, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done all this evil unto me,' He surely will never say it.

"Never, in such state, can any man or nation be saved; and so long as the unwillingness to recognise the humanity of the African race—all its rights, privileges, and prerogatives—remains, it must be the serious, the solemn, the very highest duty of the abolitionists to proclaim *repentance*, instead of crying Peace! peace! or uttering words of hope or encouragement, to people thus absolutely dead in trespasses and sins.

"The North most pharisaically claims to be fighting the South with clean hands. To Him who looketh on the heart it cannot be so. Slavery has enriched the North more and faster than the South. And the North has been willing to have it so; nay, is even now desirous, if not determined, that it shall do so still. Who dares say the North is not far the more guilty party of the two? In prejudice against colour it is most undeniably so. And as to Slavery itself, how many poor, ignorant, besotted owners of slaves at the South would it take to outweigh in intelligence and responsibility, and consequent guilt, one Dr. Lord? or South-side Adams? or Edward Eve-

rett? or the American Tract Society? or the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. 'To whomsoever much is given, of him will much be required.'

"Can it be said that any of these have repented? Where are the fruits? To propose to shoot down our accomplices in crime, while ourselves continuing the crime, is no atonement. To attempt to restore the old partnership in crime is no better.

"Neither is the dragon of Slavery slain, nor the devil of prejudice against colour cast out. Both hold their old throne and sway, North and South. Where, then, is our claim for success here, or hope of salvation hereafter?

"PARKER PILLSBURY."

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S PROPOSITION FOR ABOLISHING SLAVERY.

We subjoin the text of the message of President Lincoln, proposing the abolition of Slavery, to which reference is made in another column.

"Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives,

"I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honourable bodies, substantially as follows;

"Resolved—That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of Slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system."

"If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet the approval of the Congress and the country, there is the end; but if it does command such approval, I deem it of importance that the States and people immediately interested should be at once distinctly notified of the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it.

"The Federal Government would find its highest interest in such a measure, as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation. The leaders of the existing insurrection entertain the hope that the Government will ultimately be forced to acknowledge the independence of some part of the disaffected region, and that all the slave States north of such parts will then say, 'The Union for which we have struggled being already gone, we now choose to go with the Southern section.' To deprive them of this hope substantially ends the rebellion, and the initiation of emancipation completely deprives them of it, as to all the States initiating it. The point is, not that all the States tolerating Slavery would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation; but that, while the offer is equally made to all, the more Northern shall, by such initiation, make it certain to the more Southern, that in no event will the former ever join the latter in their

proposed Confederacy. I say 'initiation,' because, in my judgment, gradual and not sudden emancipation is better for all.

"In the mere financial or pecuniary view, any member of Congress, with the census tables and the Treasury reports before him, can readily see for himself how soon the current expenditure of this war would purchase at a fair valuation all the slaves in any named State.

"Such a proposition on the part of the general Government sets up no claim of a right by Federal authority to interfere with slavery within State limits, referring as it does the absolute control of the subject in each case to the State and its people immediately interested. It is proposed as a matter of perfectly free choice with them.

"In the annual message last December I thought fit to say: 'The Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed.' I said this not hastily but deliberately. War has been, and continues to be, an indispensable means to this end. A practical re-acknowledgment of the national authority would render the war unnecessary, and it would at once cease. If, however, resistance continues, the war must also continue, and it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable, or may obviously promise great efficiency toward ending the struggle, must and will come.

"The proposition now made, though an offer only, I hope it may be esteemed no offence to ask whether the pecuniary consideration tendered would not be of more value to the States and private persons concerned than are the institution and property in it in the present aspect of affairs.

"While it is true that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be merely initiatory, and not within itself a practical measure, it is recommended in the hope that it would soon lead to important results. In full view of my great responsibility to my God and to my country, I earnestly beg the attention of Congress and the people to the subject.

(Signed) "ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

CAN EMANCIPATED SLAVES TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES?

THE following experience of Mr. M'Donough, a slaveholder, who resided near New Orleans, will go far to answer the above question. It is abridged from a statement published by Mr. M'Donough, in *The Cincinnati Gazette*, March 1843. Dr. John G. Palfrey, formerly member of Congress, and author of a very valuable History of New England, made use of it in a pamphlet he published in vindication of free labour. Dr

Palfrey, whose father was a slaveholder in New Orleans, was acquainted with Mr. M'Donough, and had conversed with him concerning the experiment here described.

Mr. M'Donough, finding that his slaves worked for themselves on Sunday, for want of time on other days, proposed to give them Saturday afternoon to work for themselves, if they would keep the Sabbath. He was soon struck with [the amount of labour they performed during the half day they had to themselves, and with the sums of money they contrived to derive from it. It occurred to him that it would be a good plan gradually to sell them the remaining days of the week, on condition of their paying him certain sums out of their wages, at appointed periods. So far as appears the plan was suggested solely by financial policy, uninfluenced by any conviction of the wrongfulness of taking other people's wages. He called his slaves together, eighty in number, and proposed to them to work for him on Saturday afternoon, at small wages, instead of working for themselves. He advised them to draw upon these wages as little as possible, and leave the remainder in his hands to buy the whole of Saturday for themselves. That the terms he offered were pretty hard, is evident from the fact that he told them he calculated it would take them *seven years* to buy *one day*. But he reminded them that the first part of the process would be the most difficult; for when they had the whole of Saturday to work for wages, they could in less time buy Friday for themselves; and the facility would go on increasing with every day of the week they succeeded in purchasing. He told them that, according to the terms he could offer, and the calculations he had made, it would take them about *fifteen years* to buy their entire freedom.

Undismayed by the tediousness of the process, the slaves seized his offer with eagerness. They went to work so zealously, that they bought the whole of Saturday in less than six years; Friday was bought in four years; Thursday in two years and a quarter; Wednesday in fifteen months; Tuesday in one year; Monday in six months.

In fourteen years and a half they had purchased their freedom, beside working diligently for their master on the days that still legally belonged to him. It would have been done sooner, but during the later years they expended more than they had formerly done for comforts and conveniences for their families. The labour of their little boys and girls also had not made up the sum required for them by the master; so there was a balance due on their account, which they worked five additional months to pay.

Mr. M'Donough, describing his experiment, says:

"They had always been well disposed and orderly; but from the day I made the proposition, a great change took place in them. A sedateness, a care, an economy, and industry, took possession of them, to which there appeared to be no bounds but their physical strength. They became temperate, moral, and religious, setting an example that was observed and admired by all. They performed for me more labour, and better labour, than slaves generally perform, and, in addition to that, earned money enough to buy themselves. From the time the experiment began to its completion, besides paying for themselves, they gained for me money enough to enable me to buy a gang of slaves, *nearly twice the number*, at the prices in Carolina and Virginia. This I state from exact accounts kept by me, which I am ready to attest to, in the most solemn manner, at any time."

The steadiness and industry of these slaves attracted attention in the neighbourhood, and also in the adjacent city of New Orleans, where twenty or thirty of them were let out to work under the superintendence of a head bricklayer, named Jim.

The public were not informed of the stimulus which prompted these slaves to such unusual activity and diligence. Perhaps Mr. M'Donough did not consider it prudent to have much talk about it. Such experiments prove *too much*; they interfere with the established policy of slaveholding society, and consequently are generally viewed with disapprobation, which sometimes manifests itself in inconvenient ways. Among those whose attention was attracted by these slaves was a Mr. Parker of New Orleans.

"What kind of people are those of yours?" said he to Mr. M'Donough. "I never saw such people. They are building a house next door to me, where I can have my eye on them from morning till night, and they are always at work. Do tell me where they live."

"They live on the opposite side of the river, where I do," replied Mr. M'Donough; "and when they are employed in New Orleans, they cross the river every night and morning."

"Why, Sir, I am an early riser," said Mr. Parker. "I am usually up before day. But every morning they wake me with their singing and the noise of their trowels. They work as long as they can see to lay a brick; and, after that, they carry up bricks and mortar for an hour or two, so as to be ahead of their work the next morning. They never *walk* up and down those immensely long ladders, five stories high; they *run* up and down all day. If there was a white overseer driving them, whip in hand, I could understand it. But there is nobody over them, and I never saw you at the building. That Jim is a great man, Sir: I should like to own him."

He had previously made successive offers for Jim, and finally offered 5000 dols., which was refused.

Mr. M'Donough says:

"Mr. Parker was not aware of the stimulus that was acting on the heart of each and every one of them. He did not know that it was the whole body of them that moved together as one mind; that it was not merely the greatness of the head man, as he supposed."

In order duly to estimate the power of the motive which stimulated these slaves, the reader must bear in mind the hard terms their master made with them, and the long years they were working, with hope deferred. Added to this, was the fact that freedom was coupled with the penalty of banishment from home and friends. Slaveholders do not like the presence of emancipated slaves around them: it makes other slaves uneasy. Consequently, when they had worked out their freedom, they were obliged to go to Liberia. Negroes are remarkable for strong local attachments; and powerful indeed must be the motives, either of fear or hope, that can induce them to leave the scenes to which they have long been accustomed.

Yet, with all these drawbacks, their souls were filled with gratitude to the man who had granted them the boon of freedom, though he had made by the transaction a good deal of money which rightfully belonged to them. On the 8th of June 1842 they all sailed for Liberia. Their last words, when they parted with Mr. M'Donough's other slaves, were, "As you hope to meet us in heaven, take good care of our beloved master."

In the island of Jamaica the emancipated slaves had to contend with difficulties of all sorts. Their masters were very deeply in debt at the time of emancipation; they were exceedingly reluctant to give up their old habits of despotism; they paid their labourers the lowest possible wages, and charged them the highest possible rents. The wages of the emancipated slaves were from 18 to 24 cents a day, out of which they boarded themselves; yet in four years they bought land and erected buildings, for which they paid 823,650 dollars. During that short period of freedom they bought and paid for more than 100,000 acres of land, on which they worked diligently, raising vegetables for the use of their families and for the market. Does *that* look as if emancipated slaves could not take care of themselves?

After emancipation in the British West Indies, the imports into those islands increased at a rapid rate. The slaves who formerly wore cotton-baging, could afford to buy calico and ribbons, and shoes and good hats. Many even indulged in the luxuries of pretty China, mahogany tables, and clocks, in their neat little whitewashed cottages.

Have the merchants and manufacturers of the North ever thought how many more articles would be bought at the South if the labourers were free, and thus enabled to live better and dress better?

EXECUTION OF CAPTAIN GORDON, OF THE SLAVER "ERIE."

THE *New-York Tribune* of the 22nd of February contains a recital of the execution of Nathaniel Gordon, the slave-trader, on the previous day, in the city prison, New York. This is the first instance of the carrying out of the extreme penalty for such an offence, under the law of 1821, and it proves the determination of the actual Federal Government to put down the infamous system which has made so many innocent victims, and some of the chief promoters of which are American citizens. We reprint the narrative, as it is given, not for the purpose of harrowing the feelings of our readers by the horrible details of the wretched culprit's execution, but as a record of an act which redounds to the credit of Mr. Lincoln's administration, and which cannot but operate as a terrible example and warning to others of the Gordon class, who may have been contemplating a renewal of their piratical proceedings.

"Yesterday Nathaniel Gordon, the slave-trader, was hanged in the city prison. The enormity of the crime for which he suffered was justly characterized by Judge Shipman, of the United-States' Circuit Court, before whom he was tried, in pronouncing upon him the sentence of the law which he had violated.

" 'Do not imagine,' said he, 'that because others shared in the guilt of this enterprise, yours is thereby diminished; but remember the awful admonition of your Bible, "Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished." On the same occasion the doomed slave-trader was reminded of the horrid character of his crime in the following language:

" 'Do not attempt to hide its enormity from yourself; think of the cruelty and wickedness of seizing nearly a thousand fellow-beings, who never did you harm, and thrusting them beneath the decks of a small ship, beneath a burning tropical sun, to die of disease or suffocation, or be transported to distant lands, and be consigned, they and their posterity, to a fate far more cruel than death.

" 'Think of the sufferings of the unhappy beings whom you crowded on the *Erie*; of their helpless agony and terror as you took them from their native land; and especially think of those who perished under the weight of their miseries on the passage from the place of your capture to Monrovia! Remember that you shewed mercy to none, carrying off, as you did, not only those of your own sex, but women and helpless children.

" 'Do not flatter yourself that because they belonged to a different race from yourself, your guilt is therefore lessened: rather fear that it is

increased. In the just and generous heart the humble and the weak inspire compassion, and call for pity and forbearance.'

"The condemned, for the last few weeks, was attended by the Rev. Dr. Camp, who was unceasing in his care for the spiritual welfare of the prisoner. The gallows had been prepared for the execution previous to the 7th of February, the day on which Gordon was sentenced to be hanged by the court. Owing to the threats that a rescue would be attempted, the United-States' Marshal obtained from the Marine Barracks, at the Navy-yard, a sufficient force to protect the prisoner in any event. About eighty marines, under the command of Captain Cohen, were in attendance. They were drawn up in line, and ordered to load with ball-cartridge, and put caps on their muskets. This done, with fixed bayonets they marched into the yard of the prison, and the main body were drawn up in double file, fronting the gallows.

"The gallows was a new one, originally made for hanging the three murderers of Captain Pyke, of the ship *General Parkhill*. It was not used, however, at that time, as the sentence of these men was commuted by the President to imprisonment for fifteen years.

"Although the execution had been announced for half-past two o'clock, crowds of people began to assemble in the immediate vicinity of the Tombs at an early hour. An ample police force under the command of Captain Dowling, of the Sixth Precinct, guarded the entrance to the prison, and kept the way clear for the approach of persons who had been authorised to be present at the execution. Hundreds sought the loftiest positions which could be obtained on the buildings outside the prison, all anxious to get a glimpse of the dying slaver.

About 200 spectators, including members of the State Legislature, city and county officials, and representatives of the press, made up the assemblage in the prison. The gallows was erected in the grand central square, in full view of the marines and the spectators.

"After parting with Marshal Murray on Thursday night, Gordon occupied himself in writing letters to various friends, especially to his wife and to his son, a boy about five years of age. The letter to the boy was directed to be presented to him when he should come to the age of discretion. Although he seemed careworn, the prisoner did not express himself as if anxious or uneasy as to the solemn circumstances which marked his quickly-fleeting hours.

"At one o'clock yesterday morning, evidently exhausted from the labours of the night, and the cares for the coming morrow, Gordon retired to bed, and slept soundly till about three o'clock, at which time he awoke and expressed his astonishment that he had been asleep so long.

"At about eleven o'clock, a youth came rushing into the prison, carrying in his hand a telegraphic despatch from Albany, which he had been instructed to read in the hearing of Marshal Murray. Having gained his ear, he read the telegram, as follows:

" 'Poughkeepsie, Feb. 21.

"Governor telegraphed President to respite Gordon. See Murray. Received from Albany at ten A.M.'"

"To which the Marshal replied that his arrangements with the President were such that he would disregard any telegraphic communication, from whoever it might come. The message referred to was from ex-Judge Beebe, who went to Albany on Thursday night, to endeavour to induce the governor to interfere in Gordon's behalf.

"Shortly after, ex-Judge Dean arrived, bearing the same missive, and presented it to Mr. Murray, who told him that he appreciated his position, but was unable to regard anything that did not emanate in regular documentary form from the President of the United States.

"As has been stated, the prisoner retired to bed at one o'clock A.M. As he afterwards explained to Deputy-Marshal Borst, who had the prisoner in charge the latter part of the morning, his object in retiring at one o'clock was to elude the vigilance of his keepers, by pretending to be asleep; but nature asserted its claims, and he fell into a sound slumber, which lasted him till three o'clock, at which time, waking up and looking at his watch, he was amazed that, by his own exhausted condition he had been outwitted. His plan was not to be baffled, however. He was desperate, and he at once, by some mysterious sleight of hand, succeeded in swallowing a quantity of poison.

"Shortly before four o'clock the deputies in charge of Gordon observed him act in a very curious manner, and soon the fact disclosed itself that their ward was in a spasm, from which he did not recover before half-past four o'clock. By that time the prison physicians had been summoned to his side, and when he recovered from his first spasm he was astonished to see the doctors, and quietly answered their questions as to what he had been taking, by saying that he did not thank them for interfering with him. He looked up in their faces, and gnashing his teeth, said, 'I've cheated you; I've cheated you.' The doctors immediately proceeded to administer such antidotes as they deemed necessary, although they had to work in ignorance of what kind of poison he had taken.

"At length the matter became known to the United-States' Marshal, who immediately despatched a messenger to Dr. James R. Wood, who arrived at the prison at a quarter past eight o'clock. He immediately learned that the prisoner had taken strychnine, and applied himself to the case accordingly. Copious draughts of strong whisky were administered to the patient, which had the effect of gradually restoring him to consciousness. Shortly after nine o'clock he became aware of what was going on around him. From that time, however, he continued very feeble, and made his responses to all questions asked in writing.

"At about eleven o'clock the prisoner wrote a note to Simeon Draper, in which he said, 'I hope I shall die before twelve o'clock.'

"The first note that he wrote to Deputy-Marshal Borst was, 'Did you give me the whisky to keep the spasms off?'

"He then followed that by another note, saying, 'I wish I might die, and end my suffering.'

"Mr. Simeon Draper, on entering the cell of the prisoner, said to him, 'Do you know me, Gordon?' To which he replied in writing, 'I do.

Mr. Draper is a very good man, and I thank him for what he has done for my wife and child.'

"Deputy-Marshal Borst then asked him what kind of poison he had taken. To which he replied in the same manner as before, 'Strychnine. A good many may accuse my wife of a hand in this affair. I have only to say, that in time of peace prepare for war. The little bench you sit on, if it was examined, and could speak, could possibly tell some tales about it.' Here he directed the bench to be turned up, when he pointed to a crack on the lower side of it, in which he intimated that the strychnine had been secreted for a long time.

"He added, in writing, the following intimation, that nothing relative to the slave-trade should ever escape his lips: 'I shall never let mortal man know any thing.'

"In reply to the question, 'Why did you want to commit suicide?' he said, 'I wanted to spare my wife and child the disgrace of my being hanged.'

"He stated in writing that he had had the strychnine given him on the second day of the trial.

"He also stated his plan of intending to pretend to be asleep at one o'clock and how it failed him.

"The last note he wrote to Deputy-Marshal Borst was: 'Tell my wife and child that my last thoughts were of them.'

"At twelve o'clock United-States' Marshal Murray and Deputy-Marshal Thompson, with their deputies, proceeded to the cell of Gordon, and announced to him that the hour had arrived when the execution must be carried into effect. He was pinioned by Deputy-Sheriff Isaacs, and brought from his cell to the corridor, where he was set down on a chair. His appearance was feeble and haggard, and presented a strange contrast with the once lordly captain who gave his orders from the quarter-deck as to the disposition of helpless human beings imprisoned in the hold of his slave-ship.

"The United-States' Marshal then read, slowly and solemnly, the death-warrant of the culprit, also the respite granted by the President of the United States.

"After a brief pause, Captain Gordon delivered, in a deliberate tone, the following speech:

"My conscience is clear. I have no fault to find with the treatment I have received from the Marshal and his deputy, Mr. Thompson; but any public man who will get up in open court and say to the jury, 'If you convict this prisoner, I will be the first man to sign a petition for his pardon,' and will then go to the Executive to prevent his commuting the sentence, I say that man is a man who will do any thing to promote his own ends: I do not care what people say.'

"[We are assured that the officer referred to never said any thing of the kind.—Ed. *Tribune*.]

"The procession then moved from the prison to the gallows, the culprit being supported between Deputy-Sheriff Isaacs and Deputy United-States' Marshal O'Keefe. He was deathly pale with terror, his head hung over his shoulder, and his limbs almost refused their office. He tottered as he stood beneath the fatal beam, and had to be supported to the instant of the falling of the

weight which drew him into mid-air. At a given signal the cord was snapped asunder by the executioner's broad axe, and Nathaniel Gordon, the slave-trader, was launched into the presence of the Great Judge of all the earth.

"Immediately upon the hoisting of the body a few convulsive twitches followed, the veins of the neck and hands swelled, and stood out like cords for a brief while, then the limbs lost their rigidity, the blackened flesh assumed a livid hue, and the slave-trader, now a lump of dishonoured clay, swung slowly to and fro in the frosty air.

"After being suspended the usual time, the corpse was lowered upon a bier, and conveyed into an unoccupied room in the prison, where Coroner Collin proceeded to hold an inquest on the body.

"Two witnesses to the hanging of the deceased testified to the manner of his death, and Dr. Thomas Robinson, who held a post-mortem examination of the body, testified that death was caused by asphyxia, and the jury rendered a verdict to that effect. It appeared that the neck of the deceased was not broken.

"The body of the hanged man was then given over to his friends, residing in Williamsburgh, where it will be taken previous to interment.

"Such was the end of the first slaver fairly punished for his crimes in the United States of America."

THE BLACK CODE OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The Washington correspondent of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* contains the following:

"Washington, Feb. 24, 1862.

"Mr. Wilson, not content with a Bill to emancipate the slaves now in the district of Columbia, has introduced another of fully equal importance, to repeal the Black Code of the district, which applies with such inhuman rigour to the free blacks here. It provides, first, that the first section of the Act of 1801, extending the laws of Maryland over this people, shall have no force hereafter, and that a section of a law passed in 1820, giving the corporation of Washington special power to pass laws in reference to coloured people, shall be repealed; also similar Acts in reference to Georgetown; and, finally, it provides that all people of colour in the district shall be amenable to the laws exactly as white people are.

"It may not be amiss, for a moment, to glance at some of these horrid regulations and enactments, which will be abolished when Mr. Wilson's Bill becomes a law. Here are a few:

"If any free negro or mulatto intermarry with any white woman, or if any white man shall intermarry with any negro or mulatto woman, such negro or mulatto shall become a slave during slave. (1717, chap. 13.)

"No free negro or mulatto shall be admitted and received as good and valid evidence in law, in any matter or thing whatsoever, wherein any Christian or white person is concerned. (1717, chap. 13.)

"Where any slave shall be guilty of rambling, going abroad in the night, riding horses in the daytime without leave, or running away, the justices of the county court are obliged, upon the application of the owner of such slave, or the complaint of any person who shall be in any ways damaged by such slave, immediately to punish such slave by whipping, cropping, or branding in the cheek with the letter R, or otherwise, not extending to life or to render such slave unfit for labour. (1751, chap. 14.)

"If any person shall willingly entertain any servants or slaves unlawfully absenting themselves from their master, or permit them to be about his or her house or plantation during one hour or longer, such person shall be fined one hundred pounds of tobacco for each hour such servant or slave shall be permitted to be about his or her house or plantation, to be recovered in a summary way before a single magistrate, with costs; and if the offender be unable to pay, the magistrate may punish such offender by whipping, on his or her bare back, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes for any one offence. (1748, chap. 19.)

"If any slave shall strike any white person, upon proof being made thereof before any justice of the peace, either by the oath of the party so struck or otherwise, such justice may cause one of the ears of such slave to be cropped. (1723, chap. 15.)

"When any slave shall be convicted of any petit treason, or murder, or wilful burning of dwelling houses, the justice may condemn such slave to have the right hand cut off; to be hanged in the usual manner; the head severed from the body, the body divided into four quarters, the head and quarters set up in the most public places of the county. (1729, chap. 4.)

"Upon information to any justice of the peace that any free negro or mulatto is going at large without any visible means of subsistence, such justice is required to issue his warrant to any constable of the county, directing him to apprehend such free negro or mulatto; and if such free negro or mulatto shall fail to give security for his good behaviour, or to leave the State within five days, or if, after leaving the State, he shall return again within six months, such justice may commit the said free negro or mulatto to the common jail; and if such offender so committed shall not within twenty days thereafter pay his or her prison charges, the sheriff of the county, with the approbation of any two justices of the peace, may sell such free negro or mulatto to serve six calendar months. (1796, chap. 67.)

"If any free coloured person is found going at large after ten o'clock at night, without a pass from some respectable citizen, he shall be fined not exceeding ten dollars, and locked up until morning. (May 31, 1827.)

"Persons of colour frequenting the capitol square without necessary business, and refusing to depart, shall be fined not exceeding twenty dollars, or confined to labour not more than thirty days for each offence. (January 9, 1829.)

"And so on for pages might I quote. Any coloured man free or slave, out after ten o'clock at night, must pay a fine, half of which goes to the constable making the arrest; and heretofore dozens of men in this city have got their entire

income by prosecuting coloured people under this law. If a slave breaks a street-lamp, he is to be whipped on the back; if he sets a heap of shavings on fire in the street or on any open lot, he is to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back; if he bathe in the canal, he is to be publicly whipped; and so on to the end of the dreadful chapter. It must be remembered that these laws are still in force in Washington, and that the people of the Free States are responsible for their enactment and daily enforcement. The barbarities enumerated may be repeated any day under Mr. Lincoln's administration until Senator Wilson's Bill becomes a law. Of course every faint-hearted politician in Congress will try to stave off action on the subject. There are such men in plenty in Republican ranks. Diven of New York is opposed to *any* interference with Slavery. Wherein is he different from any Democratic member, except that he is false to his principles and the Democrat is true to his? They *act* alike, while making entirely different professions. Every thing depends upon this class of Republicans in Congress. If *they* vote right, there will be no difficulty in carrying any necessary measure in reference to Slavery, so far as Congress is concerned. It is possible that Mr. Lincoln would veto a radical measure, but not probable."

TREATMENT OF NATIVES ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.

A CORRESPONDENCE has been placed in our hands, the parties to which are the Rev. Alexander Innes, a Baptist Missionary, recently from the Cameroons, and the Committee of the *Baptist Missionary Society*. We do not wish to discuss, and we shall strive to keep clear of the personal question which this series of letters discloses, as existing between the parties named and the Rev. Mr. Saker, now at the Cameroons Mission; but we may legitimately assume there is truth in the statements Mr. Innes makes, when he brings forward specific cases of cruelty witnessed by himself, and the matter is a fit one for inquiry. We believe that no member of the *Baptist Missionary Board* would knowingly permit wanton cruelties to be perpetrated upon the natives under their charge; and the question is, how to render amenable to justice the parties alleged to be guilty of committing them. The first step appears to be to give publicity to the allegations. The following is one of the statements made by the Rev. A. Innes, and we ask, "Can such things be?"

"Among the traders, great cruelties are perpetrated in the name of some parties who stand high in this country, the very recital of which is enough to make the blood run cold in one's veins. The 'credit system' is much practised there, and if the natives fall behind in their payments, they

are pounced upon by the agents, taken on board the hulks or vessels, and subjected to the most cruel treatment. A heavy chain is placed round the neck and locked with a heavy padlock; they are then chained to the mast, down among the wet salt in the bottom of the vessel. There they are confined for weeks, lying *naked* in the wet salt, until their bodies are swollen to a fearful extent. It is a wonder how any of them ever survive: were they not endowed with almost miraculous powers of endurance they never could recover after such treatment.

"While I was at the Cameroons I went on board of Horsfall's *hulk*, again and again, to plead for the liberation of one poor man, a *converted native*, who was detained several weeks chained to the mast in the salt, and was very near death: his debt was but a trifling balance, which was promised as soon as he could collect it from his customers in the country to whom he had given credit. The agent said that he was acting under instructions from his employers, and it was not till I threatened to report the case in England that the poor man was released from his horrible prison.

"From the same *hulk* a poor man jumped overboard in desperation. He had been once flogged, and was to be flogged a second time, when, in desperation, he jumped overboard. It was on Saturday night; no boat was lowered down to try to save him: he was in the water all night, all next day, Sunday, all day Monday, and on Tuesday he was picked up by a fishing canoe about fifteen miles below the place. Life, wonderful to state, was still in him, and with care he was brought round.

"I could fill a volume with such statements as these, but I give these as a specimen of what came under my own personal observation. The chief articles of commerce are *rum, gunpowder, and muskets*; yet surprise is expressed at the slow progress of African civilization."

The comparatively recent massacre at Porto Nuova prepares us to learn, without surprise, from Mr. Innes, that the late Consul Foote's exploit had a precedent. He writes to us as follows:

"While in conversation with Mr. —, there was a subject alluded to which he thought of great importance, and he regretted that he had not heard of it sooner. It referred to the conduct of Consul Hutchinson to King Aqua, in bringing over a Spanish gunboat from Fernando Po, and bombarding Aqua Town, merely because King Aqua would not sign a paper which he considered he had no right to sign. About fifty shot were fired at his house, which demolished it, and destroyed all his furniture, looking-glasses, earthenware, &c.: all was smashed, and one man killed. The reason for such a brutal outrage upon an unoffending man was this:

"About forty years ago an agreement was entered into between the British Consul at Fernando Po, and all the native chiefs in that

district, that they should give up the practice of offering human sacrifices on the death of a chief. Shortly before my arrival a chief named King Bell died. While I was there his son beheaded two men as a sacrifice for his father. When he was charged with the offence, and was told that he had violated the agreement, he pleaded ignorance of the existence of such a treaty. To prevent a similar mistake, Consul Hutchinson drew up a fresh agreement, and called upon all the chiefs to sign it. King Aqua, the head chief, declined to sign it. He said he had never broken the original agreement, and for him to sign a fresh agreement would be an acknowledgment that he had broken the first, which he had not done. He said: 'When my father died, I did not kill any man; when my elder brother died, I did not kill any man; when my other two brothers died, I did not kill any man. If King Bell, or any other chief, break their agreements with England, that is their palaver, not mine: go to King Bell and settle it; I have nothing whatever to do with it.'

"This was the man's argument, and a very sound argument it was; but Hutchinson would not listen to it, but d d as I have stated. The poor man came to me and asked, 'What harm have I done that they should break down my house? Will you speak to the Queen for me?'

"I wrote a letter to Lord John Russell on the subject, and gave an explanation of the facts of the case. I enclose his reply. What the nature of 'Mr. Consul Hutchinson's report' was I know not. The facts are as I have stated. King Aqua had nothing more to do with the affair than you or I.

"The accompanying extract, which I took from a Liverpool newspaper, which was sent out to me, shews how facts are misrepresented;

"'There was no dispute whatever between King Bell and the King of Aqua,' consequently the 'English subjects and property were placed in no peril.' It is a fabrication. I read this paragraph from the newspaper to King Aqua, from which he saw how the English people were imposed upon by false reports."

The following is the extract dated September 1859:

"The *Madrid Gazette* of the 24th has the following: 'The Governor of Fernando Po writes, under date the 28th July, that, at the request of the English Consul at Rio Camerones, he had sent the schooner Santa Teresa to protect the English subjects and property placed in peril by dissensions between King Bell and the King of Aqua. The schooner opened fire on the palace of the King of Aqua, and she afterwards sent on shore a small detachment under the orders of midshipman Martinez, which, protected by the guns of the schooner, carried off a flag hoisted by the blacks. The King of Aqua subsequently made known that he was disposed to sign a treaty with King Bell. The English Consul thanked the Governor, in his own name and that of his Government, for the service rendered.'

We believe the whole system of government on the West Coast of Africa, from one end of it to the other, where our Government has power, is a huge blunder, and requires thorough revision. We shall recur to this subject.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

TUESDAY, APRIL 1, 1862.

NOTICE.

WE beg respectfully to inform friends that their Subscriptions to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, fell due on the 1st of January, and we shall feel obliged by their remitting the amount to L. A. Chamerovzow, 27 New Broad Street, E.C., London, to whom Post-Office Orders should be made payable.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

In another column will be found the text of the special message from the President of the United States to Congress, delivered on the 6th of March last, and substantially recommending the abolition of Slavery, on the principle of compensation, and of State aid. The proposition was adopted, in the form of a resolution, and thus has the great question of the day passed into the domain of practical propositions. It is unquestionably one of the most important documents that has been submitted to Congress since the Union was established, and constitutes a real and new era in the history of the country. Whatever may be said against it, as a practical measure, it nevertheless distinctly proposes to initiate emancipation. It is said that the reading of the message produced an electric effect in Congress, and its publication a profound sensation throughout the country. Well it might, for it is the first step towards setting free a nation of four millions of slaves, and of removing from the greater nation that keeps those millions in thralldom, what is the greatest reproach upon its republican institutions.

After a most careful perusal of the President's message, we feel bound to express our cordial approval of it, as the utmost that was to be expected—as an initiatory step—in the very delicate circumstances in which he is placed. It does not, it cannot, it ought not, to satisfy abolitionists, because nothing short of the one radical measure should stay their agitation; but it ought to be accepted as an earnest of what is to come, and as an indication that the President is far in advance now of the principles of the party which placed him where he is. We had no right to expect that emancipation in the United States would be proposed, save on the principles of compensation, of which our Legislature most unfortunately set the example. But at the rate at which the British nation extinguished Slavery, it would cost the Federal Government five hundred millions of dollars to

carry out a similar measure, and the very magnitude of this financial operation may render its application possible to the Border States only, which contain but a comparatively small number of slaves, and whose allegiance it is desired to secure. It strikes us that the President intimates as much, when he declares that all indispensable means must be employed to preserve the Union, and that amongst these, a declaration of unconditional emancipation in the rebel States may become necessary. These are his pregnant words:

"If, however, resistance continues, the war must also continue; and it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend, and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable, or may obviously promise great efficiency towards ending the struggle, must and will come."

These words are not hopeful with regard to the proximate subjection of the rebel States to the Federal authority, but they are singularly eloquent in relation to the course to be taken towards their slave population. Let the war but continue, and we regard it as certain, that the President will declare the slaves free, in the rebel States, "as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation" of the Federal Government. For the first time, Slavery is officially recognised and admitted to be the cause of the rebellion, and its abolition to be a substantial means of ending it. It remains to be seen whether "the country" approves of the President's recommendation, as adopted by Congress. So far as we can learn, it has been well received; and it is alleged, by the Washington correspondent of the *New-York Tribune*, that "several of the largest slaveholders in the Border States have given in their adhesion to this project, and are very anxious for its adoption." Before long, therefore, we may confidently look for the most important results.

It will be observed that the President keeps strictly within what he considers to be the limits of his authority under the Constitution. He says:

"Such a proposition on the part of the general Government sets up no claim of a right by Federal authority to interfere with Slavery within State limits, referring, as it does, the absolute control of the subject in each case to the State and its people immediately interested. It is proposed as a matter of perfectly free choice with them."

We believe that the most radical of the American abolitionists have never denied the absence of the right of the "Federal authority to interfere with Slavery within State limits," and have only urged the assumption

by the President of such a right, under what they designate "the war power." It appears to us that the crisis is rapidly approaching when the President will assume the responsibility of "interfering with Slavery within State limits," but that he is anxious, before resorting to this last extremity, to carry forbearance to the remotest limit, and to act constitutionally to the latest possible moment, so that when the time comes for final and decisive action, he may proceed boldly and unflinchingly to consummate the great work he has inaugurated. Events foreshadow that the day of emancipation is nigh.

THE SPECIAL COMMISSIONER TO DAHOMEY.

WE informed our readers, some months ago, that Captain Eardley Wilmot, who had been appointed to visit the King of Dahomey, declined the office, unless the Admiralty would grant him the use of a man-of-war. This request was not acquiesced in. We believe Her Majesty's Government have seen reason to doubt the policy of sending to the King of Dahomey any Commissioner who is not a civilian, and are restrained from despatching a gentleman who has volunteered for the service, only by considerations relating to his personal safety. We have, for a long time past, given much attention to this subject, and examined most carefully all accessible evidence, of whatever kind, bearing upon it. The result of our investigations is a profound conviction that there is no personal risk to such a commissioner, to be apprehended from any act of the King of Dahomey's, and that the success of a special embassy to him will materially depend upon the fitness of the individual selected for the duty, and upon the manner in which the King is approached.

We assert emphatically, that no evidence exists which can be traced direct to the King or to any of his chiefs of his hostility to Englishmen, but much may be produced to establish the contrary fact. It may, indeed, not be generally known, that when Badahung was heir-apparent, he induced Gezo, his father, not to allow Frenchmen to pass through his territory, alleging that none but Englishmen had ever done so; and in further proof of the small risks our countrymen incur in the Dahomian territory, we may refer our readers to the letter written by an Englishman, from Abomey, the capital of the kingdom, and published but a few weeks ago in this journal, from the *African Times*.

It is alleged that King Badahung is treacherous, because his father Gezo is said to have been so. Of this allegation not a tangible proof exists. So far as we can

learn, it rests, in a great measure, upon the evidence of the late Mr. Consul Beecroft, who, in one of his despatches, complained that the King of Dahomey had attacked Abbeokuta, although he had assured Mr. Beecroft that he did not intend doing so. Another of Mr. Beecroft's own despatches, however, establishes the direct contrary fact; for it is therein stated that the King of Dahomey had intimated his determination to attack the place, and he thought it right to inform the British Consul of his intention.

It is also on record that the late King of Dahomey positively expressed his readiness to undertake the suppression of the horrible custom of human sacrifices, but he was not encouraged, and his good intentions were not carried out. The relinquishment of this custom at Old Calabar would encourage the belief, that to obtain its abolition in Dahomey would not be a difficult matter.

We entertain the conviction, too, that the King would be ready to conclude a treaty with Great Britain for the cessation of slave-trading. When the question was submitted to Gezo, it was not reasoned out with him, nor does it appear that the envoys who were sent out to him at different times were men with whom he chose to confer, because they were of inferior position. No serious attempt has been made to induce Badahung to entertain the matter, and there is no proof he would not do so.

We consider the following as the chief essentials to the success of a mission to the King of Dahomey:

The Commissioner should be a civilian, be accredited specially to the King, direct from the Queen, and should have no other duty to perform but to see him and treat with him.

He should possess full powers to conclude a treaty with him.

He should go in some state, (to shew that the Queen paid due respect to the King's dignity, and should be the bearer of presents to conciliate his favour.

As his mission would be strictly pacific, he and his escort should go unarmed, and should repair to the nearest port in a steamer or other vessel, specially chartered for his conveyance.

Some time before, it should be intimated to the King, that the Queen of England intends to send an Ambassador to him, to enter upon friendly relations.

The person selected for the office, should be a man of good judgment; of sagacious mind; master of our previous dealings with Dahomey; conversant with native prejudices, customs, and modes of thought, and, if possible, with the native language; of placid demeanour and disposition; of good moral character, and of unswerving integrity.

We also think, that as the success of his mission must, in a great measure, depend upon himself—because he would have to be guided by circumstances—he ought not to be trammelled with what are called “instructions.” These are, in delicate positions, more frequently than otherwise, productive of embarrassment, consequently of uncertainty, and therefore of failure. He should be simply told what he is expected to accomplish; he should receive the assurance of the full confidence of the Government, and be then despatched to do his best. Such a mission, undertaken under these conditions, would, we believe, offer every moral guarantee of success.

THE NEW HABEAS CORPUS BILL.

HIS Grace the Duke of Newcastle has introduced into the House of Lords, through which it is quietly passing, a Bill which is intended to put an end to the concurrent jurisdiction of the superior courts in this country with those of kindred courts in our colonies. If the Bill pass, as there is every probability of its doing, no British court will have the power of issuing a writ of *habeas corpus* to any colony possessing its own judicatory. Did the curtailment of the Queen's prerogative, to the extent proposed, affect only free British subjects, we could not consistently occupy ourselves in considering the effect of the change; but inasmuch as the introduction of this measure is the acknowledged direct result of our interference in the case of a fugitive slave, whom it was our object to rescue from a frightful fate; and in so far as, in the absence of the resource which the existing law of *habeas corpus* placed at our command, we should be deprived of the power of interposing; and in the event of any future similar case, we do not feel ourselves absolved from the responsibility of commenting upon the new Bill, with especial reference to the interpretation of the rendition clause of the Ashburton Treaty, as affecting fugitive slaves charged with crime.

We will first give a brief epitome of the proceedings in the House of Lords, on Tuesday, the 18th ult., when the Bill was read a second time.

HABEAS CORPUS (COLONIAL) BILL.

The Duke of NEWCASTLE, in moving the second reading of this Bill, said the necessity for it had arisen in consequence of proceedings in the case of the fugitive slave Anderson, which excited a great deal of interest both in this country and throughout the British colonies. The noble duke gave a brief *résumé* of the well-known details of that case, and proceeded to state that the fact of a writ having been issued by the Court of Queen's Bench in this country to a colony in which a Court of Queen's Bench already existed, naturally created great excitement, and

the right to issue such writs having been disputed, his attention was officially called to the question. The matter was referred to the law-officers of the Crown, and, with their assistance, the present Bill has been draughted. It was then submitted for the consideration of the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, and afterwards forwarded to Canada, that it might be submitted to the local authorities. In their opinion the provisions of this Bill entirely met the difficulty, and he thought their lordships would not object to sanction a measure which simply provided that writs should not be sent from the Court of Queen's Bench in this country to any colony where a similar jurisdiction already existed. On the mere ground that justice could not well be done in a case where the judges were at one side of the Atlantic and the witnesses on the other, he thought their lordships would be disposed to agree to the second reading. As there was no objection to the Bill, he did not propose to trouble their lordships at any greater length.

LORD CHELMSFORD did not oppose the second reading of the Bill, but suggested that it would be prudent to omit from the preamble the words relating to the single case to which the noble duke had referred, and to rest the legislation on general grounds only,

"The LORD CHANCELLOR thought that it might be desirable to act upon this suggestion.

"The second reading was then agreed to."

It will be remarked, that the motive for bringing forward the Bill is acknowledged to rest upon the case of John Anderson, and the complications that threatened to arise out of it, in consequence of the conflict imminent between the imperial and the colonial judicatures. Virtually, the introduction of the Bill is an acknowledgment of the soundness of the step we took, in applying to the Court of Queen's Bench here for a writ of *habeas corpus* issuing to the sheriff in Canada, then custodian of Anderson. We need scarcely repudiate the intention ascribed to us, in some quarters, of exciting the jealousy of the Canadian courts. Our purpose was simply to get Anderson here, to render his person secure, and to have his case argued in the Court of Queen's Bench, in order to elicit an emphatic opinion upon the question the case involved, namely, whether, under any circumstances whatsoever, a slave seeking British protection can be surrendered back into Slavery. We have good reason to believe, that, with a view to avoid the raising of a most delicate constitutional question, the authorities in Canada were advised to find it convenient to discover a flaw in the indictment against Anderson, which they accordingly did, and the man was therefore discharged. Thus our primary object was accomplished. With regard to the second, the presence of Anderson in this country, as a prisoner of the court's, was indispensable to its achievement; and this condition having become impossible, we were obliged, by the force of circumstances, to forego it.

Many advised our issuing an attachment against the sheriff, who had made no return to the writ, and is therefore, to this day, amenable for contumacy to the Court of Queen's Bench. But such a course was unadvisable, for it would have led only to a discussion of the constitutional question of the jurisdiction of the court; and, though—as it now appears—we must have obtained a verdict, and the sheriff would have been adjudged a delinquent, our object would not have been advanced. Very shortly after the release of Anderson, however, a Bill was passed by the Canadian Parliament, providing for the reference of any similar case to Anderson's, to a special jury, and finally to the Governor, who is to determine whether a surrender should take place. We might, then, rest satisfied that fugitives from Slavery claimed under the rendition clause of the Ashburton Treaty, will not be placed in the circumstances of imminent danger in which Anderson found himself, and that the Duke of Newcastle's Bill is not likely to render their position less secure, were it not for the uncertainty in which we are left in relation to the precise bearing of the Ashburton Treaty, with regard to fugitive slaves similarly circumstanced to Anderson. If a declaration could be obtained to the effect, that in the event of the recurrence of a case similar to Anderson's, an ultimate reference to the Imperial Government is reserved, we should feel quite satisfied to let the Duke of Newcastle's Bill go without comment. In the absence of such a declaration, we are not without apprehension lest the new Habeas Corpus Bill—which is confessedly a concession to colonial jealousy and imperial interference—might some day, and under exceptional political circumstances, form an effectual bar to the exercise of power, now unquestionably possessed by our Courts, to interpose for the protection of an unfortunate fugitive from Slavery, in peril of being sacrificed to colonial prejudices, or to a mistaken policy of conciliation to slaveholders.

When the Bill came on for the third reading, the Duke of Newcastle stated that, after consultation with the law-officers of the Crown, he had not deemed it advisable to adopt Lord Chelmsford's suggestion, and to make the Bill rest upon general rather than upon special grounds. This would imply the decision is not without significance, and affords a reasonable supposition that some reservation in favour of fugitives has been made by Government, in the general instructions issued to the Governor of Canada for his guidance in cases affecting their personal safety.

ON THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

OUR Parliamentary record contains a report of a brief conversation upon the right of

search, which took place in the House of Commons on the 28th February, between Viscount Palmerston and Mr. Wyld. We call attention to it, because we see reason to believe it involves much more than appears upon the surface. Mr. Wyld asked Lord Palmerston three questions, namely: 1st, whether any communication had been made to the Government of the United States upon the withdrawal of the American squadron from the coast of Africa; 2ndly, whether any attempt was made by the British Government to induce the President of the United States to prevent the use of the United States' flag by foreign slavers on the West Coast of Africa; and, 3rdly, whether any request had been made to the President of the United States to permit British ships of war engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade to ascertain (during the absence of the United States' squadron) the nationality of ships which might hoist the flag of the United States.

To the first of these questions Lord Palmerston answered in the affirmative, giving as the excuse of the American Government that the necessities of war and of the blockade had compelled it to remove their cruisers. The second he replied to in very general terms, but giving an assurance of the anxiety of the President of the United States to co-operate with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade, though *in what particular way it was not for him* (Lord Palmerston) *to say at present*. The third he did not reply to at all. Mr. Wyld therefore reminded his lordship of this omission, when Lord Palmerston retorted that no permission given merely by the President of the United States can be effectual; and that such a right of search as Mr. Wyld contemplated could be exercised only under a treaty sanctioned by the Senate.

The persistency of Mr. Wyld in urging Lord Palmerston for a reply to the most important of these three questions, and the astute evasion of the same by Lord Palmerston, strikes us as exceedingly remarkable. We are tempted to infer that Mr. Wyld possesses information to warrant him in believing that the British Government has asked the American Government to permit a limited right of search to be exercised by our cruisers, over vessels sailing under the United States' flag, and suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade; and that Lord Palmerston is under reserve in publicly acknowledging the fact. His lordship indeed—though extremely guarded—speaks as if he were well informed, but as though the time were not come for him to give the public the benefit of his knowledge. His answer is, in fact, susceptible of no other interpretation.

It is quite true, that under ordinary cir-

cumstances, the President of the United States could not, of his own authority, and without the sanction of the Senate to a treaty, concede to British cruisers, a right of search. Thus far, Lord Palmerston is correct, but his lordship takes especial care not to dwell upon the fact that, at this time, the President of the United States is a despotic monarch, and may, if he choose, enter into any arrangement with any foreign power, for any object that may conduce to the welfare of the Republic, and that such an arrangement would have the full force of a treaty. It might not be politic to let it be known that any such arrangement had been made; and hence, probably, the reserve of Lord Palmerston in relation to the pointed inquiry of Mr. Wyld's. For ourselves, we may be permitted to acknowledge that our conjectures have the force of conviction, and that the apparently insignificant conversation we are commenting upon leads us to the direct inference, namely, that an understanding has actually been come to by the two Governments, in relation to the exercise of a right of search, and that it is in force, but that reasons of great weight exist for not giving publicity to the precise nature of the arrangement.

THE HON. C. SUMNER ON THE REBEL STATES.

OUR readers are aware that Mr. C. Sumner had intimated his intention of submitting to the United States' Senate certain resolutions declaratory of the relation between the United States and territory now occupied by certain States, now usurped by pretended Governments, without constitutional or legal right. On the 11th February last, he introduced them, and a Bill, organizing the rebel territory into territorial governments on the principles of these resolutions, will shortly be reported by the Territorial Committees of the two Houses. Another Bill, establishing a Provisional Government in South Carolina, has been sanctioned in an important quarter.

It cannot but be interesting to our readers to have the opportunity of perusing these important declarations, setting forth, as they do, the views of the Government on the position of the rebel States, and they are also entitled to be recorded amongst the historical incidents of the contest.

"Whereas, certain States, rightfully belonging to the Union of the United States, have, through their respective Governments, wickedly undertaken to abjure all those duties by which their connection with the Union was maintained: to renounce all allegiance to the Constitution; to levy war upon the national Government, and, for the consummation of this treason, have unconstitutionally and unlawfully confederated to-

gether, for the declared purpose of putting an end, by force, to the supremacy of the Constitution within their respective limits; and, Whereas this condition of insurrection, organized by pretended Governments, openly exists in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia, except in Eastern Tennessee and Western Virginia, and has been declared by the President of the United States, in a proclamation duly made in conformity with the Act of Congress, to exist throughout this territory, with the exceptions already named; and, Whereas, the extensive territory thus usurped by these pretended Governments, and organized into a hostile Confederacy, belongs to the United States, as an inseparable part thereof, under the sanctions of the Constitution, to be held in trust for the inhabitants in the present and future generations, and is so completely interlinked with the Union, that it is for ever dependent thereupon; and, Whereas the Constitution, which is the supreme law of the land, cannot be displaced in its rightful operation within this territory, but must ever continue the supreme law there, notwithstanding the doings of the pretended Governments acting singly or in confederation, in order to put an end to its supremacy; therefore,

"Resolved, That any vote of secession or other act by which any State may undertake to put an end to the supremacy of the Constitution within its territory is inoperative and void against the Constitution; and when sustained by force it becomes a practical *abdication* by the State of all rights under the Constitution, while the treason which it involves still further works an instant *forfeiture* of all those functions and powers essential to the continued existence of the State as a body politic, so that, from that time forward the territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress as other territory, and the State being, according to the language of the law, *felo de se*, ceases to exist.

"Resolved, That any combination of men assuming to act in the place of such State, and attempting to ensnare and coerce the inhabitants thereof into a confederation hostile to the Union, is rebellious, treasonable, and destitute of all moral authority; and that such combination is a usurpation, incapable of any constitutional existence, and utterly lawless, so that every thing dependent upon it is without constitutional or legal support.

Resolved, That the termination of a State under the Constitution necessarily causes the termination of those peculiar local institutions which, having no origin in the Constitution or in those natural rights which exist independent of the Constitution, are upheld by the sole and exclusive authority of the State.

"Resolved, That Slavery being a peculiar

local institution, derived from local laws, without any origin in the Constitution or in natural rights, is upheld by the sole and exclusive authority of the State, and must therefore cease to exist legally or constitutionally when the State on which it depends no longer exists; for the incident cannot survive the principal.

"Resolved, That in the exercise of its exclusive jurisdiction over the territory once occupied by the States, it is the duty of Congress to see that the supremacy of the Constitution is maintained in its essential principles, so that everywhere in this extensive territory Slavery shall cease to exist practically, as it has already ceased to exist constitutionally or legally.

"Resolved, That any recognition of Slavery in such territory, or any surrender of slaves under the pretended laws of the extinct States by any officer of the United States, civil or military, is a recognition of the pretended government, to the exclusion of the jurisdiction of Congress under the Constitution, and is in the nature of aid and comfort to the rebellion that has been organized.

"Resolved, That any such recognition of Slavery or surrender of pretended slaves, beside being a recognition of the pretended Governments, giving them aid and comfort, is a denial of the rights of persons who, by the extinction of the States, have become free, so that, under the Constitution, they cannot again be enslaved.

"Resolved, That allegiance from the inhabitant and protection from the Government are corresponding obligations, dependent upon each other; so that while the allegiance of every inhabitant of this territory, without distinction of colour or class, is due to the United States, and cannot in any way be defeated by the action of any pretended Governments, or by any pretence of property or claim to service, the corresponding obligation of protection is at the same time due by the United States to every such inhabitant, without distinction of colour or class; and it follows that inhabitants held as slaves, whose paramount allegiance is due to the United States, may justly look to the national Government for protection.

"Resolved, That the duty directly cast upon Congress by the extinction of the States is reinforced by the positive prohibition of the Constitution, that 'no State shall enter into any confederation,' or 'without the consent of Congress keep troops or ships-of-war in time of peace, or enter into any agreement or compact with another State,' or 'grant letters of marque and reprisal,' or 'coin money,' or 'emit bills of credit,' or, 'without the consent of Congress, lay any duties on imports or exports,' all of which have been done by these pretended Governments, and also by the positive injunction of the Constitution, addressed to the nation, that 'the United States shall guarantee to every

State in this Union a Republican form of Government; and that, in pursuance of this duty cast upon Congress, and further enjoined by the Constitution, Congress will assume a complete jurisdiction of such vacated territory where such unconstitutional and illegal things have been attempted, and will proceed to establish therein Republican forms of Government under the Constitution; and, in the execution of this trust, will provide carefully for the protection of all the inhabitants thereof, for the security of families, the organization of labour, the encouragement of industry, and the welfare of society, and will in every way discharge the duties of a just, merciful and paternal Government."

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON THE SLAVE-TRADE.

WE have adverted, in our late issues, to public meetings against the continued prosecution of the slave-trade to Cuba, which have been held at various places in the provinces within the last two months. The primary object of these meetings has been the dissemination of information. The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* are of opinion, that were the community at large in full possession of the facts of the case, no very long time would elapse before a serious pressure from without would admonish the Government to prompt and decisive action to compel Spain to fulfil her treaty obligations. It is gratifying to record the unanimity of sentiment prevalent throughout the country, against a traffic, the attempts to suppress which have involved an expenditure, up to the present time, of Fifty Millions sterling out of the public revenues, and which is annually continued to the extent of One Million. The public has readily appreciated the one question which has been submitted to it, namely, that Great Britain has entered into an arrangement with Spain to put down the slave-trade; that Spain has solemnly engaged to do it, and has received 400,000*l.* as the price of her concurrence; but that she has for three and forty years systematically, designedly, and shamefully violated her pledged word. In effect, this perjured, delinquent Power is at this moment mulcting the tax-payers of this country to the extent of One Million a year, in endeavouring to prevent her from conveying to Cuba some 40,000 slaves, to compete in sugar-growing and sugar-making with the black population of our own colonies, whom these same tax-payers paid Twenty Millions to emancipate from Slavery. All that Government is urged to do, is to require, without circumlocution, at the hands of Spain, that she shall carry out her part of the bargain. It were injudicious to suggest a course to

Her Majesty's advisers, for, in the first place, they would allege such a suggestion is an interference with the Executive; and in the second, no plan could be submitted that would not be open to objection. To the one, plain, simple demand, above referred to, no reasonable exception can be taken. There is the treaty, and there are the two parties who have entered into it. It is a plain, straightforward bargain, and admits of only one solution. To attempt to divert action into other channels, is simply to fritter away energy and weaken the effect of public remonstrance. In this plain form the question has been submitted to the public, and in this form the public has accepted it. Spain must close the Cuban market, and our Government must be urged to demand this, and nothing else. It is of no use memorializing Parliament. The action of public meetings is more direct upon Ministers themselves, therefore let all Memorials be addressed to Viscount Palmerston and to Earl Russell, and let these Memorials be entrusted for presentation to the members representing in Parliament the places whence the addresses proceed. This course has, hitherto, been found most efficacious; and if our friends will only bestir themselves, we feel convinced they will soon find Government following their example.

The most important of the meetings recently held were those at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on the 28th of February, and at Edinburgh on the 3rd of March. That at Newcastle was held in the Nelson-Street Lecture Room, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Bruce. The resolutions were moved and seconded by the Rev. Walter Irvine, Messrs. R. Walters, James Clephane, the Rev. B.W. Carr, Messrs. J. B. Falconer, jun., and Mr. J. C. Fenwick, and by L. A. Chamerovzow. A Memorial to Viscount Palmerston was unanimously adopted, to the following effect, namely:

"That your memorialists view with deep concern the continued prosecution by Spain of the slave-trade between the coast of Africa and the island of Cuba, it being shewn upon Parliamentary evidence that from thirty to forty thousand slaves are annually landed in that island.

"That this iniquitous traffic is carried on by Spain notwithstanding that she concluded treaties for its suppression with this country, and has received the sum of 400,000*l.* as compensation for her promised co-operation.

"That the continuation of the slave-trade to Cuba involves the taxpayers of Great Britain in an annual expenditure of 1,000,000*l.* sterling.

"That Spain possesses the power to suppress the slave-trade, if she chooses to exercise it.

"That the people of this country have just cause of complaint at the deliberate infraction by Spain of her slave-trade treaties, and have a

right to require that she shall forthwith take effectual measures for their fulfilment.

"This meeting therefore prays that her Majesty's advisers will adopt such steps as shall seem to them to be required by the urgency of the case, to obtain from the Government of Spain the immediate suppression of the iniquitous trade in human beings."

The public meeting at Edinburgh was held in the Queen-Street Hall, which was crowded. John Dunlop, Esq., of Brookloch, presided, and among the gentlemen on the platform were the Rev. Dr. Nisbet, Rev. Dr. Lindsay Alexander, Rev. Dr. Johnston, Rev. Dr. Goold, Rev. A. K. H. Boyd, Rev. Mr. Price, Mr. Andrew Fyfe, S. S. C., Mr. Wm. Duncan, Dr. Greville, Mr. Hugh Rose, Mr. Josiah Livingston, Mr. Archibald Young, &c. The Rev. Dr. Candlish had promised attendance, and so had the Rev. Dr. Guthrie. The former sent an excuse for non-attendance, having been unexpectedly required elsewhere; and the following letter was read from the Rev. Dr. Guthrie:

"I am confined to bed, and therefore cannot possibly be with you this evening. I am quite worn out with work and public meetings, of which I have had more than my share. I must call a halt from such work for a long time to come. I very much regret I cannot be present at your meeting to express my entire sympathy with its object, and my utter abhorrence of the falsehood and cruelty of Spain, and of the conduct of those Americans who furnish ships and money to carry on this infamous and murderous slave-trade, and by whose flags of stars and stripes it has been so long, and too long, protected. If we cannot prevent Spain from throwing her subjects into prison for no other crime than reading the Word of God, we can and we ought to cease carrying on a traffic which, in the destruction of many thousands of negroes, year by year, is nothing else than wholesale murder."

The speakers were, John Dunlop, Esq.; the Rev. Dr. Nisbet, the Rev. Dr. Goold, L. A. Chamerovzow, Mr. Gordon Stuart, (who unexpectedly submitted to the meeting an account of a visit he had paid, nearly two years before, when at St. Helena, to a slave-ship which had been brought there for adjudication,)* the Rev. Dr. Greville, Mr. H. D. Dickie, Mr. Cruickshank, the Rev. Dr. Alexander, and Mr. Burn Murdoch, and a Memorial to Viscount Palmerston and to Earl Russell, similar to the one adopted at other meetings, received unanimous approval.

The Memorials adopted at these various meetings, namely, at Chelmsford, Bristol, Exeter, Newcastle, and Edinburgh, have

been courteously acknowledged by Viscount Palmerston and Earl Russell. The former says their object has his full concurrence; that they evince a gratifying unanimity of sentiment throughout the country against the abominable slave-trade, and that the whole question is under the serious consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

To the Memorial from Edinburgh Earl Russell has sent the subjoined reply to Adam Black, Esq., M.P., who was entrusted with it for presentation:

"Foreign Office, March 19, 1862.

"SIR,—I am desired by Earl Russell to transmit to you, under flying seal, the reply which, by his Lordship's directions, has been addressed to the Memorial from the inhabitants of Edinburgh on the subject of the Cuban slave-trade, and which was forwarded by you to Lord Russell in your letter of the 10th instant.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. H. LAYARD.

"A. Black, Esq."

"Foreign Office, March 19, 1862."

"SIR,—I am instructed by Earl Russell to acknowledge receipt of a Memorial, signed by you as chairman of a meeting of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, calling the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the Cuban slave-trade, and praying that prompt measures may be adopted for insisting on the fulfilment by Spain of her treaty engagements with this country for the suppression of this traffic. I am, in reply, to acquaint you that his Lordship is in communication with the Spanish Government on this subject, and will omit no measures for accomplishing the purpose desired.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"A. H. LAYARD.

"John Dunlop, Esq."

We have been gratified to see some of the local papers taking the question up in a proper spirit. A few quotations from such as have come to hand will furnish a fair example of the unanimity of sentiment that prevails as to the course our Government ought to pursue. The following appeared in the *Bristol Daily Post* of the 27th February, a week after the public meeting held in Bristol, in the Tailors' Hall:

"If Spain is prudent, there is scarcely any nation whose progress will be more welcome to England. She cannot hurt us: she will prove an excellent customer. She has got what we want; and wants what we have got. But it is due to her self-respect that she should cease to lie under the reproach of the non-fulfilment of her treaties with this country on the subject of the slave-trade. Spain has concluded a treaty with us, and taken our money to a large amount.

* This "Visit to a slave ship" will be shortly published in a tract form.—ED. A. S. R.

She ought, therefore, loyally to observe her engagements as to Cuba. We are glad to find by the meeting in Tailors'-court, on Thursday, that the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* continues its praiseworthy exertions in order to stir up an amount of public opinion in this country sufficient to obtain from the Madrid Government the fulfilment of its treaty obligations. After many years of visible and unrelaxed effort by Englishmen, the course of current events and the tone of many of our newspapers are unfortunately such as to cause the sincerity of English opinion on the subject of slavery to be questioned out of England. The seceding American States, for example, still abide by their conviction that English abolitionism will strike its colours as soon as cotton is thoroughly in danger. A bad compliment to this country, which we must endeavour to dispense with, by shewing that wherever Slavery is involved, English policy always reflects the feeling which Englishmen have so long professed."

The *Edinburgh News* of March 8th contains the following :

"The conduct of Spain in regard to the slave-trade is awakening here and elsewhere some worthy interest. We have entered into treaties with that country; we have expended large sums of money; we have to some extent brought our moral influence to bear on Spain; and notwithstanding all this, or in spite of it, the accursed slave-traffic continues. While it must be admitted that our Government has done much, and that there has not been wanting among the people a certain moral support, there has been a shortcoming somewhere. In other cases we have imperatively demanded that treaties into which we have entered be carried out thoroughly and consistently: we have even visited the transgressor with unsparing punishment; and the question arises, why is it not so here? If treaties can be deliberately entered into—if a country is so placed as to feel the necessity of binding itself to conditions, as Spain has done in this case—surely, we say, some means could be adopted or power applied to prevent the systematic and outrageous violation of these treaties. It is plain that there is a lacking on the part of the Executive: it is to be feared a theoretic condemnation of the trade is only followed by a practical winking at the iniquity. Were it not so, could it be possible, in the face of solemn obligations, to ship for Cuba, every year, 40,000 human beings? It could not. There is a gross and glaring inefficiency; and we rejoice to see the country bestirring itself. Some decided and irresistible influence must be brought to bear on the Government, and Edinburgh, where the slave has ever had his truest friend, fittingly takes the lead."

On the 14th March, the *Northern Daily*,

Express, published at Newcastle, contained an admirable and very pungent leader upon the delinquency of Spain, and, after commenting upon it, wound up as follows :

"Will England tolerate this? Spain, in September, 1817, came under obligations to Great Britain to suppress the odious traffic in human beings. In order to compensate Spain for certain supposed losses, which she would sustain in carrying out this treaty, we gave her four hundred thousand pounds. Spain took the money, but took no measures to fulfil her part of the bargain. In consequence, it was found necessary, in June 1835, to conclude a new convention to render the old effective. Mr. Crawford, in the despatch already referred to, shews us the mode in which, up to 1861, this new treaty had been observed:—'It is clear, at least we have the experience of more than twenty-five years that no efforts have been made by Spain to put an end to the slave-trade. We need never expect the fulfilment of the treaty of 1835 by a people who consider the obligations therein come under as detrimental to the interests of the island. There is no intention on the part of the Spanish Government or its officers to carry out the provisions of this treaty.' This is strong language for an official document to assume, but not stronger than the case demands.

"The question now remains, What is England's duty? It is plain that we must insist upon the fulfilment, on the part of Spain, of the treaty entered into with us nearly half a century ago. We cannot submit to pay an additional penny of income-tax, in order that our navy may throw a million of money every year into the Gulf of Guinea. And, more than that, we cannot submit to be befooled by an insignificant nation like Spain. Our Government must be roused to decisive action; and if Spain will not fulfil her bargain, let her be excluded from the comity of nations. In walking along the world's highway, a man cannot always avoid coming in contact with the dishonest and the depraved; but one who has any regard for his own character will not willingly associate with them. Let us treat Spain, if she perseveres in a course of truce-breaking and cruelty, as we would treat any individual who had been guilty of similar crimes. Respect for ourselves requires that we should.

For the present we think we have produced a sufficiency of evidence to shew that the anti-slavery sentiment dormant in the public mind, requires only to be revived and turned into a practical channel, to produce tangible results.

DISCUSSION IN THE CORPS LEGISLATIF ON NON-INTERVENTION IN THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE.

WE have not met with an account, in any other morning paper but the *Star*, of a highly-interesting discussion which took place in the Corps Legislatif on the 13th of March last, on the paragraphs in the Emperor's late address, relating to the American difficulty.

The fact that France does not intend to depart from the strictest neutrality was too emphatically affirmed, and is so important to record, that we reprint a copious extract from the letter of the Paris correspondent of the *Star*.

"The speeches delivered in the Corps Legislatif on the amendments of the paragraphs of the Address relative to the civil war in the United States, and the Mexican and the Cochinchinese expeditions, are all in all the most commendable that it has been the good fortune of those in the habit of going there to hear. The explanations given by M. Billault on the policy of France, as regards the American blockade, are highly satisfactory; as was also the full expression given by the House, and the Minister in attendance, of the just horror in which France holds the domestic institution of the South. The Chamber was unanimous on this point; and in opposing the amendment of M. Morin, the deputy of the Department of the Drôme, M. Billault expressed as fully as did the former the repugnance which the Emperor feels towards Slavery. The words of the paragraph, without this explanation, would be very ambiguous, and the explanation was asked in order to obtain a public disavowal of any tendency on the part of Government to a participation in the work of giving stability to a political system, the keystone of which, according to its founders, is the perpetual servitude of the African race. The amendment of the 'five' deputies, and that of M. Morin, were the same in substance, if different in form. But as the first did not appear so strictly to adhere to the neutral policy in which France wishes to persevere, its proverbs waived it for the amendment of the Deputy of Drôme. It was thus worded: 'France should not interfere in the civil war which desolates the United States of America. But she emphatically declares that her sympathies are with the Northern States—the defenders of right and liberty.' The amendment proposed by MM. Morin, Lemerrier, Guyard, Delalain, the Marquis of Andelarre, and Achille Jubinal, was as follows: 'The civil war which desolates America seriously menaces our industrial and commercial interests. We therefore ardently hope that the dissensions there will speedily be terminated, and that the great principle of the abolition of Slavery will come forth victorious from the struggle.' It may be observed, that neither in the original paragraph of the Address, nor the paragraph proposed by M. Morin, was the theatre of the great Transatlantic struggle between liberty and tyranny called the United States. But it was thus designated in the amendment of M. Favre

and his four constant friends and allies. The latter also was, for neutrals, a rather strong expression of sympathy with one of the belligerent parties. That was, on after consideration, the chief reason for its withdrawal in favour of the other, which was but a more indirect manner of saying the same thing, it being a strong protest against the grounds upon which the Confederates stand in trying to break up the Federation. The speeches of MM. Morin and Jubinal were but a further development of this protestation. Quotations from that very favourite author here, Mr. J. S. Mill, and extracts from the depositions made before the magistrate who signed the warrant for Nathaniel Gordon's committal, were read by the first-named deputy, to give the Chamber an idea of what Slavery really is, if anybody in it could have been so dull as not to have deduced their inevitable consequences from the abominable doctrine of the absolute destiny of one section of the human family to be for ever chattels of another. Then were refuted the assertions, which, however, have been less advanced in France than at home—that it was not owing to the Slavery question that the civil war has taken place in America. In doing so, M. Morin said: 'I have stated that Slavery was the true, the only cause of the conflict in America. I am well aware that other motives have been alleged, and that custom-houses and tariffs have been dwelt on, as well as the stiffness of the North and her arrogant pretensions. But let us see with what reason such causes have been advanced. As to tariffs, the one in force before the secession was nearly a free-trade tariff; and only since has the severer protectionist one, known as the Morrill Tariff, been adopted. . . . In reality, gentlemen, for twenty years there has been no other cause for dispute between the North and South, than the Slavery question. The South would have accorded every thing, provided their peculiar institution, so dear to them, were guaranteed from interference. As to the harshness, and the high pretensions of the Northern States, if any complaint is to be made against them, it is that they have ceded too much and been patient for too long a time. It was but after a long series of compromises and of hesitation, that they decided upon declaring their determination by nominating a President of their choice. And what was the signification of Mr. Lincoln's election? It was not the abolition of Slavery; but it was the firm resolution to limit Slavery, and to prevent it extending itself like a loathsome sore over the territories of the Union—over every spot where the flag can be carried and the pioneers penetrate of the young civilization of America. That is only what they wanted. They wanted nothing but to arrest the progress of Slavery upon the points at which it attempted to invade the territories. It was a modest aim, but it was a sufficient one; for to circumscribe Slavery, and to arrest it in its progress, was to sign its death-warrant, and this the South was quick in understanding. Gentlemen, it was a splendid spectacle that was twenty years ago presented to the world by the people of America. They had practised and admitted the most absolute principles of liberty, and had increased as if by

magic in numbers and in wealth. In less than a century they had cleared and cultivated the wilds which extended over a whole continent; and side by side with this rapid development of material prosperity the wisdom of their institutions—their free action—were so incontestable, that an eminent publicist and statesman, whose premature end the literary and political world equally deplore—I need not name him, as you have already named Alexis de Tocqueville—saw in American institutions the future models after which those of Europe would be framed. And it is this country that is to-day desolated and torn by internal strife. But she is not debased or lowered by her misfortunes. She has, on the contrary, morally gained; for she has not shrunk before any difficulty that stood in the way of her ridding herself of that stain, that leprosy, which was at once her danger and her disgrace. And she has preferred honour to what seemed fortune and repose. Such, gentlemen, are the facts before which we have remained so long a time the mute spectators. It is on these facts that we ground our amendment, and in their presence I demand what danger can be incurred, or what French interest compromised by its adoption? If, as I hope, the American Union will come forth with renewed vigour from the terrible ordeal through which it now passes, our ancient and faithful allies will understand how to value the expression of our sympathy with her during her hour of danger and of trial. But if, on the contrary—a thing which I would deeply deplore—the secession should become a *fait accompli*, the South will learn from our words that the first condition upon which she will be received into the family of civilized States is that of freeing herself from the scourge of her peculiar institution, and she will one day know how to thank us for the lesson.

"M. Calviat Rogniat opposed M. Morin and his colleagues in a clever speech, in which was resumed all that has been said on the same subject in the House of Commons.

"M. Granier Cassagnac was for the strictest neutrality, for which reason he adhered closely to the original paragraph of the Address.

"M. Billault explained once more the determination of the Emperor to remain neutral; and was emphatically of opinion, that in any case none of the great maritime Powers should take upon itself the responsibility of being the first to break the blockade. He very justly remarked, that while the sphere of the Emperor's actions with foreign Powers is very limited, so that of his advice is of indefinite influence, and expressed his willingness to do all in it that lies in his power to wipe from modern society 'the sore of Slavery.' But he insisted that to go beyond advice would be impolitic and inexpedient. Other deputies prayed that a remedy might be sought for the great commercial stagnation from which France now suffers, in the development of her Algerian and Cochinchinese cotton fields.

BILL TO ABOLISH SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

On the 16th of December last, Mr. Senator Wilson asked, and by unanimous consent ob-

tained, leave to bring in a Bill for abolishing Slavery from the district of Columbia, which was ordered to be printed. On the 13th of February, it was brought up and reported upon by Mr. Morrill, and it is believed that, in its present form, it will pass. We give the text of this Bill, the first abolition measure ever seriously entertained by the United States' Legislature. Mr. Morrill's amendments are in *italics*.

A BILL

For the Release of Certain Persons held to Service or Labour in the District of Columbia.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all persons held to service or labour within the District of Columbia, by reason of African descent, are hereby discharged and freed of and from all claim to such service or labour; and from and after the passage of this Act, neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, whereof the party shall be duly convicted, shall hereafter exist in said district: [and subjection to service or labour proceeding from such cause shall not hereafter exist in said district.]

"SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That all persons loyal to the United States, holding claims to service or labour against persons discharged therefrom by this Act, may, within ninety days from the passage thereof, but not thereafter, present to the commissioners hereinafter mentioned their respective statements or petitions in writing, verified by oath or affirmation, setting forth the names, ages, and personal description of such persons, the manner in which said petitioners acquired such claim, and any facts touching the value thereof, and declaring his allegiance to the government of the United States.

"SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint three commissioners, residents of the District of Columbia, any two of whom shall have power to act, who shall receive the petitions above mentioned, [and who shall] investigate and determine the [legal] validity and value of the claims therein presented, as aforesaid, and [who shall] appraise and apportion, under the proviso hereto annexed, the value in money of the several claims by them found to be valid: *Provided, however,* That the entire sum so appraised and apportioned shall not exceed in the aggregate an amount equal to three hundred dollars for each person shewn to have been so held by lawful claim.

"SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That said commissioners shall, within nine months from the passage of this Act, make a full and final report of their proceedings, findings, and appraisal, and shall deliver the same to the Secretary of the Treasury, which report shall be deemed and taken to be conclusive in all respects, except as hereinafter provided; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall, with like exception, cause the amounts so apportioned to said claims to be paid from the Treasury of the United States to the parties found by said report to be entitled thereto as aforesaid, [the lawful holders thereof,] and the same shall be received in full and com-

plete compensation: *Provided*, That in cases where petitions may be filed presenting conflicting claims or setting up liens, said commissioners shall so specify in said report, and payment shall not be made according to the award of said commissioners until a period of sixty days shall have elapsed, during which time any petitioner claiming an interest in the particular amount may file a bill in equity in the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, making all other claimants defendants thereto, setting forth the proceedings in such case before said commissioners and their action therein, and praying that the party to whom payment has been awarded may be enjoined from receiving the same; and if said court shall grant such provisional order, a copy thereof may, on motion of said complainant, be served upon the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall thereupon cause the said amount to be paid into said court, subject to its orders and final decree, which payment shall be in full and complete compensation, as in other cases.

"SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That said commissioners shall hold their sessions in the city of Washington, at such place and times as the President of the United States may direct, of which they shall give due and public notice. They shall have power to subpoena and compel the attendance of witnesses, and to receive testimony and enforce its production, as in civil cases before courts of justice; and they may summon[s] before them the persons making claim to service or labour, and examine them under oath; and they may also, for purposes of identification and appraisal, call before them the persons so claimed. Said commissioners shall appoint a clerk, who shall keep files and complete record of all proceedings before them, who shall have power to administer oaths and affirmations in said proceedings, and who shall issue all lawful process by them ordered. The marshal of the District of Columbia shall personally, or by deputy, attend upon the sessions of said commissioners, and shall execute the process issued by said clerk.

"SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That said commissioners shall receive in compensation for their services the sum of two thousand dollars each, to be paid upon the filing of their report; that said clerk shall receive for his services the sum of two hundred dollars per month; that said marshal shall receive such fees as are allowed by law for similar services performed by him in the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia; that the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause all other reasonable expenses of said commission to be audited and allowed, and that said compensation, fees, and expenses shall be paid from the Treasury of the United States.

"SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That for the purpose of carrying this Act into effect, there is hereby appropriated from the Treasury of the United States a sum not exceeding one million of dollars.

ABOLITION OF THE COOLIE TRAFFIC BY THE UNITED STATES.

THE following is the text of a Bill introduced by Mr. Eliot, of Massachusetts, to

the House of Representatives, on the 4th December last, which has now passed both Houses of Congress. The measure is a most important one, for it withdraws from the Chinese Coolie trade—second in atrocity to the African slave-trade—the protection of the American flag, under which the greater proportion of this abominable traffic has been carried on.

A BILL

To prohibit the "Chinese Coolie Trade" by American citizens in American vessels.

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That no citizen or citizens of the United States, or foreigner coming into or residing within the same, shall, for himself or for any other person whatsoever, either as master, factor, owner, or otherwise, build, equip, load, or otherwise prepare, any ship or vessel, or any steamship or steamvessel, registered, enrolled, or licensed, in the United States, or any port within the same, for the purpose of procuring from China, or from any port or place therein, or from any other port or place, the inhabitants or subjects of China, known as 'Coolies' to be transported to any foreign country, port, or place whatever, to be disposed of, or sold, or transferred, for any term of years, or for any time whatever, as servants or apprentices, or to be held to service or labour. And if any ship or vessel, steamship or steamvessel, belonging in whole or in part to citizens of the United States, and registered, enrolled, or otherwise licensed as aforesaid, shall be employed for the said purposes, or in the 'Coolie trade,' so called, or shall be caused to procure from China or elsewhere, as aforesaid, any subjects of the Government of China for the purpose of transporting or disposing of them as aforesaid, every such ship or vessel, steamship or steam vessel, her tackle, apparel, furniture, and other appurtenances, shall be forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to be seized, prosecuted, and condemned in any of the circuit courts or district courts of the United States for the district where the said ship or vessel may be found, seized, or carried.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That all and every person so building, fitting out, equipping, loading, or otherwise preparing, sending to sea, or navigating, as owner, master, factor, agent, or otherwise, any ship or vessel, steamship or steamvessel, belonging in whole or in part to citizens of the United States, or registered, enrolled, or licensed within the same, or at any port thereof, knowing or intending that the same shall be employed in that trade or business aforesaid, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this Act, or in anywise aiding and abetting therein, shall be severally liable to be indicted therefor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and be imprisoned not exceeding one year.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That if any citizen or citizens of the United States shall, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this Act, take on board of any vessel, or receive or transport any such persons as are above described in

this Act for the purpose of disposing of them as aforesaid, he or they shall be liable to be indicted therefor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and be imprisoned not exceeding one year.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That nothing in this Act hereinbefore contained shall be deemed or construed to apply to or affect any free and voluntary emigration of any Chinese subject, or to any vessel carrying such person as passenger on board the same: *Provided, however*, That a 'permit' or certificate shall be prepared and signed by the consul or consular agent of the United States residing at the port from which such vessel may take her departure, containing the name of such person, and setting forth the fact of his voluntary emigration from such port or place, which certificate shall be given to the master of such vessel; but the same shall not be given until such consul or consular agent shall be first personally satisfied by evidence produced of the truth of the facts therein contained.

"SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That all the provisions of the Act of Congress, approved February twenty-second, eighteen hundred and forty-seven, entitled 'An Act to regulate the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels,' and all the provisions of the Act of Congress approved March third, eighteen hundred and forty-nine, entitled 'An Act to extend the provisions of all laws now in force relating to the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels, and the regulation thereof,' shall be extended, and shall apply to all vessels owned in whole or in part by citizens of the United States, and registered, enrolled, or licensed within the United States, propelled by wind or by steam, and to all masters thereof, carrying passengers or intending to carry passengers from any foreign port or place without the United States to any other foreign port or place without the United States; and that all penalties and forfeitures provided for in said Act shall apply to vessels and masters last aforesaid.

"SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby authorized and empowered, in such way and at such time as he shall judge proper to the end that the provisions of this Act may be enforced according to the true intent and meaning thereof, to direct and order the vessels of the United States, and the masters and commanders thereof, to examine all vessels navigated or owned in whole or in part by citizens of the United States, and registered, enrolled, or licensed under the laws of the United States, wherever they may be, whenever, in the judgment of such master or commanding officer thereof, reasonable cause shall exist to believe that such vessel has on board, in violation of the provisions of this act, any subject of China known as 'Coolies,' for the purpose of transportation; and upon sufficient proof that such vessel is employed in violation of the provisions of this Act,

to cause such vessel to be carried, with her officers and crew, into any port or district within the United States, and delivered to the marshal of such district, to be held and disposed of according to the provisions of this Act.

"SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That this Act shall take effect from and after six months from the day of its passage."

Reviews.

The Deeper Wrong; or, Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl. Written by Herself, but edited by LYDIA MARIA CHILD. London: W. TWEEDIE, 337 Strand.

THIS is a most simple and touching narrative, which goes direct to the heart. It lays bare, with unsparing fidelity, but with the extremest delicacy, that particular phase of slave-life, in which women alone can become the principal actors. Her wonderful escape—she having kept herself confined for a period of nearly seven years in a place where there was not room for her to turn—is in itself "a romance of thrilling interest." We cordially recommend this little volume to our friends.

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